

PEACE NEWS

The International Pacifist Weekly

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Heroes of non-violent struggle are Ghana's guests

From Dr. HOMER A. JACK

Dr. Jack flew from Chicago to the Gold Coast last week to report the independence celebrations for Peace News. This is his first despatch sent from Accra on March 2. Another will appear next week. While in Africa he will be visiting his old friend, Dr. Albert Schweitzer, and hopes to send a third contribution to our columns from Lambarene.

THERE has never been anything on the African continent approaching the drama beginning to unfold in the Gold Coast. The independence celebrations are the biggest international gathering ever held in Africa, second only to a United Nations Assembly or a Bandung Conference.

My BOAC plane from London contained a cross-section of delegates: Professor C. S. Deakin, of Cambridge, a Quaker who taught in the Gold Coast for 23 years; Mako Hlubi, an African from South Africa now living in London and invited to the celebrations as a special guest of the Government; J. L. Keith, a retired colonial officer who has befriended numerous Gold Coast students in London; and William Glenvil Hall, Quaker MP representing the Inter-Parliamentary Union.

And in the seat just in front of our five was Cheddi Jagan, the Indian from British Guiana who was recently released from three years detention and is also a special guest of the Gold Coast Government.

In Tripoli we picked up some official delegates from Libya. After flying the Sahara in six hours, we stopped at Kano, Nigeria, and the harried airport manager said that they never had been so busy. There were forty extra flights, with some 1,800 individuals flying to the Gold Coast via Kano, alone. We arrived in Accra in less than 22 hours from London and were greeted by an air of expectancy, with the new Ghana colours of red and gold and green everywhere.

'BECAUSE THEY WERE JEWS'

From Olwen Battersby

"Hiding away in a warehouse in Amsterdam, never going out, unknown to friends, except the one who brought food and supplies

Japan and the H-bomb WILL LITTLE SHIPS OF PEACE STOP TEST?

'Fullest consideration'
—JAPANESE PREMIER

PLANS for little ships of peace to sail to Christmas Island, put forward in the last two issues of Peace News, have been brought before the Japanese Cabinet.

Ministers are sharply divided in their views, some being utterly opposed to the project, others being sympathetic.

The Japanese Prime Minister, Mr. Nobsuke Kishi, said on Tuesday (the Daily Herald, London, reports) that he could understand the feeling behind the proposals.

"But the Government must give this matter the fullest consideration to determine whether such sit-down tactics are proper or not.

"The Government cannot say whether such dangerous tactics are the only means left to us."

The discussion at Cabinet level followed the despatch of a letter from Peace News to the Japanese Council against A and H-bombs asking if they could arrange for any fishing boats or other vessels to stay in the area, since British people were ready to go out to the Pacific and be passengers.

"Among those who are interested in this project, and are willing to leave this country for the purpose," Peace News told the Council, "is Mr. Reginald Reynolds, the writer and friend of Mahatma Gandhi.

"It is felt here that if an international team could be on the boats, world public opinion would rally to support those sailing into the area and there would be a great deal more pressure put on Governments to stop the tests.

sail, public opinion here would be in our favour and the money would be raised.

"If you can arrange boats, and cable us as to where the British people should fly to, we would go into action here to send them off as quickly as possible."

After referring to the Peace News report, the Daily Telegraph's Tokio Correspondent said that the Japanese Seamen's Union has ordered its members not to take part in the "protest fleet."

Scientist protests to UN

The Danish atomic physicist, Dr. Niels Arley, has endorsed an appeal by Britain's Professor Haddow, well-known cancer specialist, to halt all further experiments. Dr. Arley has called for a Scandinavian appeal to UN to stop all tests.

In a message to Peace News last week, Dr. Shingo Shibata of Hosei University, Tokyo, said:

"If the British Government really seeks world peace, it should suspend the planned tests, and immediately negotiate with the US and the Soviet Union in order to put an outright ban on the test and manufacture of A and H weapons. It is our belief that by such an approach Britain will never lose, but will surely win the respect of the whole world and contribute greatly to the world's peace.

Later: The Japanese Prime Minister has said that he is considering the sending of a delegation of Christian and Buddhist leaders from Japan to England to urge the halting of tests.

Students to scientists:

ROCKET-BASE MEANS DEATH FOR ISLAND

Extracts from a statement of 45 students at the University of Puerto Rico, asking the group of atomic scientists, meeting in Puerto Rico in January, 1957, to discuss the peaceful uses of Atomic Energy, to intercede with the Federal Government not to expose Puerto Rico to atomic attack in the event of war, by establishing military bases on her soil.

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✠ ON BACK PAGE

Freedom through non-violence

GEORGE PADMORE

reviews Nkrumah's autobiography

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THE impact of this book upon the political consciousness of Africans everywhere is going to be decisive.

I am confident that it will do for the Negro liberation movement what Tom Paine's COMMON SENSE did for the Americans in their most difficult period of revolt against British Colonialism—give faith, confidence and inspiration to the Africans in other parts of the Continent who are still struggling to achieve democratic rights, racial equality and self-determination. It will do even more. It will provide them with a political programme and a guide in non-violent techniques of Positive Action, which Dr. Nkrumah describes in great detail.

Apart from the political significance of GHANA, it is a fascinating human document: the inspiring story of the life and struggles of a poor boy who, by his own exertions, has risen to the highest office in his country and established for himself a firm place in the history of Modern Africa as the outstanding statesman of his race.

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"Hiding away in a warehouse in Amsterdam, never going out, unknown to friends, except the one who brought food and supplies—two-and-a-half years of this—BECAUSE THEY WERE JEWS."

"The history of the whole world is focussed in these two families—eight people—in two attic rooms."

THE Rev. William Simpson, Secretary of the Council of Christians and Jews, was speaking of the "Diary of Anne Frank (Phoenix Theatre), at one of the recent City lunch-hour lectures, organised by the National Peace Council.

The Diary, the jottings of a girl of 13 (15 at the end of the period) was being translated in the East and in the West; it was going throughout the world. A letter had been received from Japan: "We, too, lost our parents—at Hiroshima, we wish to write..." In Western Germany the "Diary of Anne Frank" had become a part of the school syllabus; instinctive reaction was silence.

For here was something which had made its impact upon the whole world, something which threw our whole scale of proportion into chaos, dwarfing the words and actions of politicians. It was great drama, but it was something more.

CHRISTIAN WORLD

The problem of the Middle East, that "universal headache," would not have existed today but for those things described in the Diary of Anne Frank; but for the five or six million Jews who went through the gas chambers of Central Europe; but for the tragedy of anti-Semitism. The State of Israel as at present constituted, would not have existed but for those things which happened—and they happened in Europe—when for the Jews there was no open door through which they could find security.

This was one factor only in the present situation, but it was a major factor.

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"It is felt here that if an international team could be on the boats, world public opinion would rally to support those sailing into the area and there would be a great deal more pressure put on Governments to stop the tests.

"The War Resisters' International Headquarters here in London are also considering whether they can co-operate by alerting their members in Australia and New Zealand.

"Our difficulty, of course, is lack of money. It would cost over £400 to fly anyone to Tokio or Fiji, but if the boats were able to

You must change your job at Buckingham Palace —TRIBUNAL (not "Alice")

From Mavis James

EVEN those who work at Buckingham Palace are not exempt from the Government's requirement that conscripted youths shall perform some form of State service.

Last week, at Fulham Tribunal, a conscientious objector, G. T. Bevan, who is a member of the Royal Household Staff, was granted conditional exemption from military service.

"But he can't stay where he is," said the Tribunal. "He must take up other work, on the land, in the building trade, in food distribution or in a hospital."

All the applicants before the Tribunals object to military service, but not all object to national service. Those who do, usually present theories and request that they should be permitted to do more worthwhile jobs, or follow something for which they have been specially trained.

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THERE is no doubt that a third world war would be of catastrophic proportions, and would occasion the death of millions of human beings. It goes without saying that in this war atomic weapons and hydrogen bombs would be used. The powers involved in this probable war would attack immediately, with atomic bombs, such bases and technical and military installations as might exist.

Therefore, it is the policy of the Department of Defence of the United States to disperse its fleet, concentrating it in ports outside its native territory, as Admiral Gallery recently declared in reporting on the proposal to establish an anti-submarine and guided-missile base at Ensenada de Ceiba (Roosevelt Roads), Puerto Rico. Work enlarging it for that purpose has already begun.

Military necessities

The only reasons brought forward for the establishment of these bases, which convert Puerto Rico into an inevitable atomic aviation target of any military enemy of the United States, are the defence of the Panama Canal and of the independence and freedom of American nations.

Because of Puerto Rico's geographic size and population density, a single atomic bombardment would mean our death.

Never in history, in the name of military necessities of any nation, has the complete disappearance of another people been asked, as it is now being asked of Puerto Rico.

For the same reason that the use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes is being discussed here, it is also imperative that danger from atomic bombs in the event of another world war also be discussed.

It is urgent and necessary that responsible people in Puerto Rico and the rest of America reflect on so grave and serious a problem.

"VOTE ACCORDING TO CONSCIENCE"

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On completing eight years of schooling he became a pupil teacher at the nearby town of Half Assini. A year later, he got a scholarship to the newly established teachers' training college at Achimota.

This was a great leap forward in his life, for it brought him under the stimulating influence of the distinguished African educationalist, Dr. Aggrey, the Vice-Principal.

It was during this period at Achimota that political consciousness was awakened in Nkrumah and other young students by the nationalistic writing of Dr. Azikiwe, the present Prime Minister of Eastern Nigeria, who was then editing a Gold Coast paper, the Accra Morning Post.

IN THE USA

Both Dr. Aggrey and Dr. Azikiwe had been educated in America and had returned to Africa to render service in their respective spheres in the advancement of their people. Their examples inspired Nkrumah to give up his teaching in a Roman Catholic institution and go off to America.

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Before we make rash judgments, concluded the speaker, "let us recognise that the problem facing the world today is the direct consequence of the failure of the Christian world to be Christian in its behaviour toward, and its treatment of, the Jewish people down through the centuries.

"When we come to understand and interpret aright, we shall come to realise that this age in which we live is not the responsibility of America, the USSR, nor even the United Nations; responsibility rests where responsibility always rests, in the hands of God. History has always been, and still is, the area of God's operation and, for those who have eyes to see and ears to hear, it is the vehicle and revelation of the will and purpose of God, whether it be in judgment or in mercy, to condemn or to redeem."

FOOTNOTE: In Germany a thousand young people are to make a pilgrimage from Hamburg to place flowers on Anne Frank's grave in the former concentration camp of Bergen-Belsen.

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Cypriot objector

An exception is a Cypriot who appeared at Fulham on March 1.

Represented by Mr. Swales, a solicitor, Zachariah Yiallourous told the Tribunal that he objected to military service on religious grounds. He belonged to the Greek Orthodox Church.

Professor James, a member of the Tribunal, remarked pithily, "Your Church has never been against war."

Yiallourous made it quite clear that whether the religious body to which he was affiliated sanctioned war or not, he personally could never take up arms.

He believed that the people of Cyprus should have their freedom, but if this was gained, he would not be prepared to serve in the Cyprus forces to defend his country against an aggressor.

Then came Yiallourous' objection to national service: his brother had been killed by a British serviceman in Cyprus.

"His feelings on the subject can be related to the difficulty of the situation," said his representative. He has a conscientious objection to National Service as apart from military service because of this."

Yiallourous was granted conditional exemption.

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Therefore, it is the policy of the Department of Defence of the United States to disperse its fleet, concentrating it in ports outside its native territory, as Admiral Gallery recently declared in reporting on the proposal to establish an anti-submarine and guided-missile base at Ensenada de Ceiba (Roosevelt Roads), Puerto Rico. Work enlarging it for that purpose has already begun.

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"VOTE ACCORDING TO CONSCIENCE"

"WE need MPs who vote according to conscience, not according to the dictates of the Whips," Ronald Mallone told a public meeting at Progress Hall, Woolwich, recently after he had been announced as prospective Fellowship Party candidate for Woolwich West.

"The people have never been allowed to vote on the damnable evil of conscription and the Labour, Tory and Liberal Parties share the guilt for its introduction and maintenance in Britain. They may reduce or end it eventually to catch votes, but they have no moral or religious objections to this attack on liberty. Nor have we been allowed to vote on the foreign bases in East Anglia, permitted by the Labour Government, nor on the manufacture and use of hydrogen bombs."



RONALD MALLONE

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WATCHING TRAGEDY DEVELOP

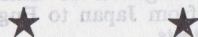
THE Algerian tragedy deepens and moves on toward the great North African catastrophe that seems from week to week to become more unavoidable.

Even so intelligent an observer as M. Francois Mauriac, in controversy with M. Jean Amrouche, a leading Algerian writer advancing the claim to Algerian independence, urges that in the recognition of Algerian nationality will be found all that is essential to Algerians and, in any case, it is all that is possible.

He seems to be urging that M. Amrouche should accept this claim as something that it is futile to contest because "he will not find in France any statesman who will proclaim, against the will of Parliament and the nation, independence for Algeria."

It is a little late in the day to be urging the eight million Algerian people to abandon their claim because in France there are forty-three million French who are solidly resolved that they shall not have it, even if this assertion were true.

The Algerian leaders, including the considerable batch who have just been committed to prison, are able to look beyond the boundaries of France even if M. Mauriac is incapable of it. They know that the question of Algeria has now been before the UN Assembly and is likely to go back there again. It is true that the resolution that was reached after negotiation outside the Assembly Chamber was next to meaningless, but the debate made it evident that a very great part of the world's population has different views from France and is observing what is going on in Algeria with extreme distaste. The Arabs and Berbers of Algeria are much more likely to be encouraged by the clear evidence that the Afro-Asian millions are behind them than deterred by the claim that the French population is resolved that they must be kept in subordination to French needs.



IN the endeavour to impose the French will in Algeria 20,000 Arabs and Berbers have been killed in battle and 2,000 French troops, while 1,000 French and 4,000 Algerian civilians have been killed in the terroristic activities in which both sides have been engaged.

After having conceded independence to Morocco and Tunisia, the French Government has poured troops into Algeria in an endeavour to convince Algerians that they have no such right because they are French citizens. The Syrian delegate to the UN Assembly, Dr. Zeineddine, summed up the French claim that Algeria is an integral part of Metropolitan France as a "unilateral legalistic fiction," and that, of course, is what it is.

This fiction dates from 1881, thirty-nine years after the French annexed Algeria. From this date 30 deputies and 14 senators have been sent from Algeria to Paris. Care has been taken, however, through the franchise and control of the elections, to see that these do not represent the majority of the Algerian people, or it might have been possible for the Algerian nationalists to use the Chamber of Deputies as a means to their independence on similar lines to the Irish Nationalists in the British Parliament.



BY their somewhat belated acceptance, in spite of last Saturday's temporary hitch, of the United Nations' request for the withdrawal of their troops from the Gaza Strip and from Aqaba, the Israelis have done more than to furnish proof of wisdom. They have also rendered a service to the world in general, at a moment when growing doubts about the usefulness of the United Nations were beginning to become commonplace, by showing respect for the institution on the existence and prestige of which world peace depends more than on anything else.

With regard to their own interests, they have done something else as well. They have delivered a telling stroke of diplomatic strategy by throwing the responsibility for the next step into the Egyptian camp.

For, whether they received private assurances behind the scenes or not, officially it will now be President Nasser's turn to commit himself. He will have to do so on the continuance or cessation of Egypt's still standing declaration of belligerency with Israel; and it is a foregone conclusion that if he reasserts the existence of belligerency, he will be left with few supporters in the world.

He can hardly hope for more than a number of abstentions if the subject is brought to a vote in the General Assembly.

Nasser's choice

YET the choice before President Nasser must be an agonising one. To give up the declared state of belligerency means, in effect, the acceptance in perpetuity of the state of Israel, with which no Arab will within foreseeable time ever feel himself at real peace.

Seen with Egyptian eyes, it probably means something worse than a military defeat—it means an unworthy climb-down.

We in Europe and America are hardly capable of appreciating the extent of the sacrifice this must mean for President Nasser. We must nevertheless hope that he will accept it, since it is inconceivable for any of us that Israel should be wiped out.

extent of the actual danger from the tests makes a protest on that score difficult, and partly to the desire to maintain friendly relationships with the British Government.

The attitude of the Japanese Government is also conditioned by the fact that they share the fear of the Western Powers about Soviet intentions and believe that the West cannot be expected to stop tests or abolish nuclear weapons unilaterally.

They see their request as part of the attempt to secure the cessation of all tests and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Nevertheless, it is true that the prohibited area is used by Japanese fishing fleets, who are often away from home for months on end in their

Israel H-tests Soviet law Newsreels

journeys to and from their best fishing grounds. The area is also crossed by cargo boats carrying phosphates to Japan from islands in the Pacific, where it is mined.

Interference with their legitimate occupation will seriously affect not only the fishermen but the Japanese economy. It appears, however, that the Japanese Government will confine action to passing on the warning of the British Government and will reserve the right to claim compensation for any damage that might result through the tests.

It is not, therefore, likely that support would be forthcoming from the Japanese Government for any scheme to defy the prohibition of the British Government in regard to the danger area in the Pacific. It may well be that, because it is the British Government which is responsible, if there is to be any challenge to it either by reference to the International Court of Justice or by a deliberate decision to remain in the danger area

paper, Izvestia, of a condemnation by Professor Piontkovski of the legal procedures approved by Vyshinsky when he was Procuror-General of the USSR.

The particular contentions of Vyshinsky that are now condemned are his claim that a confession by the accused was sufficient by itself to secure condemnation; that the opinions of the accused should be taken into account in judging of his culpability; that there was no need for a court to establish absolute and objective truth but only that which was most likely; and that it was just as much an obligation on an accused man to establish his innocence as it was upon the Government prosecutor to establish his guilt.

Professor Piontkovski discusses this matter in terms of the legal dicta laid down by Vyshinsky; and set beside most Western procedures they obviously deprive accused people of many desirable safeguards.

What is being done in this article, however, is merely to underline certain aspects of Vyshinsky's terrible record that had already been made evident in Mr. Khrushchov's speech of February, 1956. To all who were able to perceive the true character of the ghastly Stalinist slaughter of the nineteen-thirties it was evident that Vyshinsky was an exceptionally ignoble instrument of the most evil aspects of the Stalinist policy.

The Khrushchov revelations, without being specifically concerned with Vyshinsky, made it apparent that this was so.

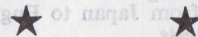
BBC and Rank

THE Commonwealth Newsfilm Agency, in which the BBC and the Rank Organisation are the leading partners, is primarily an economic necessity to newsreels which have begun to melt away under the cosy, close breath of television.

But the new project will be run by a high-powered Trust, pledged to issue its output "impartially and free of all restrictions as to the way it is to be cut or presented in the subscribers' individual newsreels."

The impartiality, therefore, will

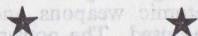
of Algeria has now before the UN Assembly and is likely to go back there again. It is true that the resolution that was reached after negotiation outside the Assembly Chamber was next to meaningless, but the debate made it evident that a very great part of the world's population has different views from France and is observing what is going on in Algeria with extreme distaste. The Arabs and Berbers of Algeria are much more likely to be encouraged by the clear evidence that the Afro-Asian millions are behind them than deterred by the claim that the French population is resolved that they must be kept in subordination to French needs.



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SINCE the UN Debate the French authorities have made many arrests of nationalist leaders, both in Algeria and France, so that 11 out of 34 of the leading members are now in prison.

It is anticipated that this will have considerably weakened the nationalist forces struggling against France. It remains to be seen whether this will prove to be so, but it certainly does not bring a satisfactory settlement any nearer.

In order to be able to face the UN Assembly again the French Government will have to secure a cease fire and provide for Algerian elections, with some kind of guarantees that these shall not be gerrymandered. There is little doubt that the elections, if they are not rigged, will be made a means to reassert the Algerians' desire for independence. The position will not have become any easier for the French Government for it will have to face the problem of the claims of the million French settlers in a political atmosphere in which the reconciliation of interests will have become much less easy as compared with the period before it was decided to send 350,000 troops into the country.

The intransigence of the French settlers will have been responsible for a great deal of destruction, including that of the possibility of a peaceful relationship with their Algerian neighbours.

Changes in the Malayan World

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by **ROY SHERWOOD**

gap left between the two sides in 1956.

The second British-Malayan development concerns the future constitution of the Malayan Federation. It is the work of a special commission set up last year under the chairmanship of Lord Reid, the other members of which were a Cambridge University expert in Commonwealth

Initially it will now be President Nasser's turn to commit himself. He will have to do so on the continuance or cessation of Egypt's still standing declaration of belligerency with Israel; and it is a foregone conclusion that if he reasserts the existence of belligerency, he will be left with few supporters in the world.

He can hardly hope for more than a number of abstentions if the subject is brought to a vote in the General Assembly.

Nasser's choice

YET the choice before President Nasser must be an agonising one. To give up the declared state of belligerency means, in effect, the acceptance in perpetuity of the state of Israel, with which no Arab will within foreseeable time ever feel himself at real peace.

Seen with Egyptian eyes, it probably means something worse than a military defeat—it means an unworthy climb-down.

We in Europe and America are hardly capable of appreciating the extent of the sacrifice this must mean for President Nasser. We must nevertheless hope that he will accept it, since it is inconceivable for any of us that Israel should be wiped out.

Japan and the H-test

FOLLOWING the reply of the British Government to its original memorandum expressing concern about the projected tests of a British megaton bomb on Christmas Island, the Japanese Government has renewed its request that the tests should be abandoned.

In order to make plain that it is not only concerned with the British tests, it has also sent a note to the Soviet Government expressing the hope that all tests may be abandoned. The action of the Japanese Government is confined to a request and is not in the nature of a protest against the action of the British Government.

It is understood that this is due partly to the fact that the divided opinion among scientists as to the

Chinese" is not at all unlikely.

Yet it must be admitted that the constitution-framers have not only done their best—they have done well. There may be delay and difficulty before the Federation of Malaya, governed by its own constitution, becomes a fully ranking member of the British Commonwealth, but it is clear that events are moving in that direction and doing so, according to present indications, at a reasonably satis-

H-tests Soviet law Newsreels

journeys to and from their best fishing grounds. The area is also crossed by cargo boats carrying phosphates to Japan from islands in the Pacific, where it is mined.

Interference with their legitimate occupation will seriously affect not only the fishermen but the Japanese economy. It appears, however, that the Japanese Government will confine action to passing on the warning of the British Government and will reserve the right to claim compensation for any damage that might result through the tests.

It is not, therefore, likely that support would be forthcoming from the Japanese Government for any scheme to defy the prohibition of the British Government in regard to the danger area in the Pacific. It may well be that, because it is the British Government which is responsible, if there is to be any challenge to it either by reference to the International Court of Justice or by a deliberate decision to remain in the danger area in defiance of the prohibition, such action must and should be taken by British nationals.

Izvestia on Vyshinsky

THERE is perhaps something hopeful to be found in the fact that there continues to be some vacillation in the Russian Government as between de-Stalinisation and re-Stalinisation.

There has been a considerable retreat from the comprehensive condemnation of the record of the Stalin regime by Mr. Khrushchov in his speech in February last year, with all its horrifying implications. Not only has there been a disposition to cover up what was disclosed in that speech, but Mr. Khrushchov has gone out of his way to sing the praises of Stalin once more, particularly in regard to his handling of affairs during the war, although what he had to say in this respect was in flagrant contradiction with what he had said earlier.

Now, however, comes the publication in the Russian Government news-

reels obviously deprive accused people of many desirable safeguards.

What is being done in this article, however, is merely to underline certain aspects of Vyshinsky's terrible record that had already been made evident in Mr. Khrushchov's speech of February, 1956. To all who were able to perceive the true character of the ghastly Stalinist slaughter of the nineteen-thirties it was evident that Vyshinsky was an exceptionally ignoble instrument of the most evil aspects of the Stalinist policy.

The Khrushchov revelations, without being specifically concerned with Vyshinsky, made it apparent that this was so.

BBC and Rank

THE Commonwealth Newsfilm Agency, in which the BBC and the Rank Organisation are the leading partners, is primarily an economic necessity to newsreels which have begun to melt away under the cosy, close breath of television.

But the new project will be run by a high-powered Trust, pledged to issue its output "impartially and free of all restrictions as to the way it is to be cut or presented in the subscribers' individual newsreels."

The impartiality, therefore, will depend ultimately on the individual user—a prospect which would be encouraging only if the newsreels had not shown themselves notoriously trivial and timid.

Competition with TV

SUGGESTIONS that the Trust will become for TV and the cinema what Reuters is for the newspapers seem a shade optimistic. For one thing, the range of newsreel colour does not extend—as does that of Reuters' British subscribers—from the Daily Worker to the Daily Mail, so that one extreme angle can be at least measured against its counterpart. For another, one doubts whether the newsreel could long survive the competition of TV in the sphere of straight news, even if it braced itself to make a serious effort.

So it looks as though the fruits of the project will be available mainly through the BBC, whose standards of impartiality are, for good and ill, pretty well known.

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violence in Mississippi and two others for young people in Mississippi and Tennessee; assisted in a fund-raising concert for the bus protests in Montgomery and Tallahassee; helped in the planning of a conference on "Non-violence and Social Change" attended by Nasser, L...

SINCE the UN Debate the French authorities have made many arrests of nationalist leaders, both in Algeria and France, so that 11 out of 34 of the leading members are now in prison.

It is anticipated that this will have considerably weakened the nationalist forces struggling against France. It remains to be seen whether this will prove to be so, but it certainly does not bring a satisfactory settlement any nearer.

In order to be able to face the UN Assembly again the French Government will have to secure a cease fire and provide for Algerian elections, with some kind of guarantees that these shall not be gerrymandered. There is little doubt that the elections, if they are not rigged, will be made a means to reassert the Algerians' desire for independence. The position will not have become any easier for the French Government for it will have to face the problem of the claims of the million French settlers in a political atmosphere in which the reconciliation of interests will have become much less easy as compared with the period before it was decided to send 350,000 troops into the country.

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SINGAPORE'S NEGOTIATOR

Two sets of negotiations are involved in the matter of British Malaya. First, those with Singapore, which are being taken up again after last year's failure, due in great part to the fact that Mr. David Marshall, then Chief Minister of Singapore and its chief negotiator, had to be unyielding on the few points separating the two sides, because his internal relations with other political parties were not good enough to enable him to count on their acceptance of a compromise solution recommended by himself.

This year the chief negotiator for Singapore will be Mr. Marshall's successor, Mr. Lim Yew Hock, and though he will have to face the uncertainties of new elections in August, it is generally believed, particularly because last year's failure has made everybody more anxious to succeed this time, that the new set of London talks will bridge the not very wide

gap left between the two sides in 1956.

The second British-Malayan development concerns the future constitution of the Malayan Federation. It is the work of a special commission set up last year under the chairmanship of Lord Reid, the other members of which were a Cambridge University expert in Commonwealth Constitutions, a former Governor-General of Australia, a former Chief Justice of the Allahabad High Court, and a still officiating Justice of the West Pakistan High Court.

In view of the difficulty of reconciling the divergent aspirations of a population almost equally divided between people of Malayan and of Chinese origin with an additional element of Indians, the whole representing an insoluble mixture of different cultures, religious beliefs and characteristics; and in view, too, of the deliberate choice of commission members from radically different backgrounds, it is not surprising that amount to a compromise not likely to the proposals they have produced please all concerned.

MALAYANS' OPPOSITION

On certain points the commission is not even unanimous.

From the Malaysians in particular, conscious that they are the only people in the land in whom no one can suspect mixed loyalties, opposition to "too much consideration for the

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Paradoxically, the Indonesians, whose example in gaining independence from the Dutch has had much to do with British-Malaya's determination to cease to be "colonial," is moving away from the ideals of personal freedom which might have been expected to motivate all their thinking under the new regime of national independence.

INDONESIAN GOVERNMENT

That they are nevertheless doing so, is plainly attributable to two factors the first of which is the low standard of government efficiency. If the process of gaining independence had been gradual, by progressive association of the people with the governmental machinery under the guidance of a mother country really trying to educate the population up to self-government, the newly created sovereign state would not have been so lacking in men capable of honest and competent administration. Nor would it, in understandable resentment of Holland's obstruction of national aspirations and its ill-advised "police

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This is part of the message from Father Huddleston inscribed in a book prepared by the Movement for Colonial Freedom for presentation to Dr. Nkrumah.

This "Salute to Ghana" has been supported by people in many spheres of religious and political life, among them Dr. Donald Soper, Laurence Housman, Sir Richard Acland, Ethel Mannin, Ritchie Calder and Canon Raven.

Busy secretary

READERS will see from a report on page 4 that the New York War Resisters' League Secretary, Bayard Rustin, has been working with Martin Luther King in spreading the idea of non-violent resistance in the US.

Here are some of the other things WRL staff have undertaken in the Deep South up to the end of last year:

Planned two study groups on non-

violence in Mississippi and two others for young people in Mississippi and Tennessee; assisted in a fund-raising concert for the bus protests in Montgomery and Tallahassee; helped in the planning of a conference on "Non-violence and Social Change" attended by Negro leaders from all over the South, and in planning the non-violent strategy when the Negroes once again rode on the buses after the Supreme Court decision.

This last point must have been of great importance: doing the wrong thing at the moment of victory might have destroyed the value of the whole campaign.

Grounds for objection

I WAS glad to see two conscientious objectors, Roddy Barry and Max Neufeld, making known in a letter to the editor of Tribune last week a fact which has been emphasised many times in Peace News: that one does not have to be "an absolute pacifist" in order to object to military service.

"We . . . based our objections," they write, "on the fact that the armed forces are today the servants of a policy which accepts the view that the use of thermo-nuclear weapons is in certain circumstances justifiable—a policy which we utterly reject, since it implies the belief that there exists evils greater than the destruction of civilisation itself."

RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS

a monthly column by

STUART MORRIS

THE PROBLEM OF CONSCIENCE

IN commenting on the Pope's Christmas broadcast, I foresaw the possibility that it might be used by tribunals as an argument that a Roman Catholic could not claim a conscientious objection to all wars.

The Dusseldorf newspaper "Mittag" has now reported that when the mother of a conscript informed the district recruiting officer that her son was a Catholic and would refuse military service, she was told that in view of the Pope's message a Catholic could not refuse military service if he did not wish to be excommunicated from the Church.

I understand from official Roman Catholic sources that although the Papal broadcast is an authoritative statement to which Catholics are expected to assent, so that they would be bound to take into account this guidance in reaching a moral judgment about war, it does not carry any penalties for those who still decide to refuse military service.

To evoke a threat of excommunication is therefore a complete misrepresentation of the position, and the attention of the Papal Nuncio in Germany has been called to this unauthorised gloss.

I understand that another repercussion in Germany has been a decision by the Bochum Town Council (which has a majority of Social Democrat members) that it will not be appropriate for any member of the Christian Democratic Party (who are predominantly Catholics) to sit on a CO tribunal. Under the German scheme local councils are asked to appoint some members to the local tribunal, and they are refusing to nominate any Catholics for that position.

PERSONAL JUDGMENT

The Catholic Worker (New York) has had extensive and interesting comments on the Pope's message, in one of which emphasis was laid upon the full context in which the pronouncement about conscientious objection was made. The main conclusions can be summed up as follows:

That the Pope personally does not approve conscientious objection is apparent and it is well for pacifists to realise this without either evasiveness or undue distress. The personal ethical judgments of the man who is Pope are basically to be valued on their intellectual merits as are the opinions of other men. If the Holy Father assumes the probability that the conditions of a just war would be present, then that is an analysis of a difficult situation which may be fallible, and any Papal

BOMBINGS, BURNINGS AND SHOOTINGS ARE FOLLOWED BY

Fresh attacks on pacifist community from RICHARD BAKER

NEARLY killing several people, including children, hoodlums fired shots on two recent occasions at the homes of Koinonia Farm, the inter-racial Christian pacifist community in the US Deep South.

Children were sprinkled with gun shot, but none was hurt in this latest attack on the farm. Rifle or machine-gun bullets barely missed several people, one a child. No one was injured.

Several families were evacuated "to safer surroundings."

Located at Americus, Georgia, the Koinonia farming community has had about \$13,000 worth of property destroyed by two bombings, burning, and shootings. The last two shootings were the only ones aimed at people.

Bullets, apparently fired from a machine-gun, narrowly missed the night watchman and two sleeping people at 1.15 a.m., January 29.

Harry Atkinson, watchman that night, sitting in an automobile parked by the home, said he believed he ducked so hard that after one bullet missed his head by little more than a foot, his head was caught between the clutch and the brake pedals!

Fired from a speeding automobile, another bullet barely missed the head of Ross Anderson. Another passed over the foot of the bed of an over-night guest. The shooting awakened both men.

One ten-year-old child, Lora Ruth Browne, was nearly hit by a bullet while she was entering a home on the evening of February 1. Sheriff Fred Chappel believed it to be from a .22 rifle.

At the same time, children playing in the volley ball court were sprayed, but not hurt, by shot, as hoodlums in two cars coming from the direction of Americus, opened fire on the homes.

Seven bullets hit the house fired upon on January 29. One, a tracer, set a curtain on

fire, but the fire was quickly put out. Other tracer bullets were seen streaking across fields.

The over-night visitor left on the morning of January 29, saying he had seen enough of the Old South!

A flaming cross was placed in front of one home on February 9, by the Ku Klux Klan. When a car with two men in it approached unexpectedly, the Klan members quickly left.

The boycott against Koinonia, reported previously in Peace News, became worse recently as several other businesses refused to deal with the community, some after pressure was put on them by people disapproving of Koinonia. The insurance problem, needing to be solved soon, is the worst.

The petrol boycott was by-passed by purchasing larger tanks and buying it by the trailer-load.

The Americus and Sumter County Ministerial Association was joined by other church organisations in their protest against violence aimed at Koinonia. Several Georgia newspapers, The Atlanta Constitution, the Macon News, the Columbus Ledger-Enquirer, the Gainesville Daily Times, and others have protested against the violence.

The violence began last summer because of an attempt to get two Negroes admitted to a white school and because an inter-racial children's camp had been held on the farm the previous year. The students were not admitted, and it is not known what happened to their applications.

PRISON FOR COs IN U.S.A. AND NEW ZEALAND

Letter to the President

RELATIVES and friends of Seymour Eichel, whose story was reported in Peace News, January 18, continue their efforts to obtain his release from prison.

Seymour, eight years after taking a stand as a conscientious objector, was sentenced last December to a year-and-a-day imprisonment.

Judge Inch, who when passing sentence commented that this was to deter other COs, has

The Hansens win through

IN one thing all the Hansens are united, the belief that war is utterly wrong, that they can have no part in it and that it is wrong for the State to conscript or compel.

There is a conglomeration of Hansen families living in the Orini district, near Taupiri, New Zealand.

March 8, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3

SUEZ POSTSCRIPT



WITH the Suez Canal closed, it takes even longer for "Printed Matter" post to reach England from New Zealand, and so we have only recently seen the "Suez Crisis" number of the New Zealand Christian Pacifist.

Yet even at this late date it is good to read the message sent to their Prime Minister on November 5 by New Zealand pacifists, reaffirming their "condemnation of all war as contrary to the spirit and teaching of Christ and a crime against humanity," and continuing:

"We urge the New Zealand Government to request Britain to stop the war at once, withdraw her forces, offer an indemnity to Egypt and an apology to the United Nations . . ."

Thanks to the air mail edition of Peace News the same issue of the Christian Pacifist was able to include a three-quarter-page report of "Anti-war activities in London," Dr. Soper's call to action, the students' mid-night march, the Trafalgar Square rally and Dr. Soper's Sunday evening march and meeting. A vivid picture was thus presented to our fellow peace workers in New Zealand and a real sense of solidarity achieved.

So once again I would remind every reader that Peace News is more than a weekly newspaper, it is the means whereby, within a few days, news of peace activity is made known to peace groups in every corner of the world.

Each week the mail planes leave London with a small but significant load of peace ammunition: Peace News for Bihar, Johannesburg, Montgomery, and even Christmas Island.

To keep Peace News going out to key people and places each week we need an increased circulation in Britain and the USA, and above all, at the present time, every penny and every cent which can be spared for our Peace News fund, for we must raise

£2714 by Dec. 31

THE EDITOR.

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A CANONISED C.O.

The dilemma in which Catholics find themselves is illustrated by the editorial comment to a letter in a recent issue of the Catholic Herald.

The correspondent pointed out the inconsistency between two answers previously given to the moral problem of war, claiming that because no end, however good, can justify evil means, a Catholic should decline to participate in nuclear war, even if waged to defend freedom against Communist tyranny.

He further claimed that a Catholic was entitled under any circumstances to be a conscientious objector if he was convinced that such was God's will, and evidenced the case of Maximilian who was put to death not because he was a Christian but because he refused to serve in the army. He was subsequently canonised and the Church does not enrol among her saints a man who dies for a moral or doctrinal error even in the best of faith.

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Judge Inch, who when passing sentence commented that this was to deter other COs, has shown that he has no desire to have communication with anyone speaking on Seymour's behalf.

George Willoughby of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors tried to reach the Judge by telephone, but was prevented by a clerk or a secretary who reported that the Judge "did not feel it would do any good to take the time for the interview."

Rabbi Hoffman who also wished to speak to the Judge on Seymour's behalf was not able to get beyond the secretarial staff.

PLEAS OF CLEMENCY

On February 11, Julius Eichel, Seymour's father, wrote to the President about its son's imprisonment.

"... such is the perversity of our officials," he wrote, "that while they think nothing of filling our prisons with innocent people, they have no time, nor stomach, nor ear for pleas of clemency, even when they are supported by influential organisations and people."

"Judge Inch, in spite of dozens of letters and a few telephone calls, has denied access to himself. Whether he is being shielded by his clerks and knows nothing of such appeals, we cannot tell, but he has made no personal acknowledgment either of the letters or 'phone calls."

"William Penn once made the observation that no matter how free a community may appear to be, if there is no freedom of conscience, there is slavery."

People to whom copies of the letter were sent included Judge Inch, the Director of the Federal Bureau of Prisons, and two Senators.

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There is a conglomeration of Hansen families living in the Orini district, near Taupiri, New Zealand. They are of the utmost diversity, socially unorthodox and unconventional in the extreme, members of no church, holding no religious beliefs in any ordinary sense, and often eccentric in thought and behaviour.

But their sincerity in opposing war and war preparations cannot be questioned.

The local Magistrate, Mr. Patterson, who sent two of them to prison twice, a year ago, himself testified to that and said he knew they were genuine conscientious objectors and that a miscarriage of justice occurred when their sincerity was not recognised.

The cousins, Reginald and Lucien, each received two sentences of six weeks imprisonment for failing to pay fines and failure to observe terms of probation order. (Fines and or probation, with or without direction to civilian employment, are the only penalties provided by the Military Training Act. Imprisonment is imposed only in effect as penalty for contempt of Court in not obeying its orders.)

Another, younger, Hansen—Francis—was sent to Waikeria Borstal for three months.

BOUND BY CONSCIENCE

Last October still another, James Robert Hansen, came before the Court at Hamilton charged with failing to report for medical examination. He pleaded not guilty and said he had a conscientious objection to taking part in activities relating to war.

He had registered as a conscientious objector but did not appear before the Board in support of his application as he felt bound by his conscience to follow his present line of action irrespective of any decision that might have been given by the Board.

MAGISTRATE'S SENTENCE

The Magistrate, Mr. Stewart Hardy, SM, placed him on probation for 12 months.

It appears that the tenacity and courage of the Hansens, under most unfavourable circumstances, has at last won recognition. Like the others, James Robert Hansen refused to carry out the terms of the Probation Order. He was brought before the same Magistrate in January.

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IN S. RHODESIA
a talk by

Mrs. G. G. COLEMAN

Creator of the Little Theatre of Bulawayo

Chairman: Sybil Morrison

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A new book for Lent

ALL HIS GRACE

The Methodist Lent Book for 1957

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ALL HIS GRACE

The Methodist Lent Book for 1957

by Dr. DONALD O. SOPER

If what this world most needs is morally better people to live in it, and if the Christian Faith professes to meet that need, then the Church must take the greatest care to say simply, and clearly, first what Christian Goodness is like, and then how Christian Goodness can be realised. This book offers an introduction to these two themes. The first part tries to say something about the moral and spiritual grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and then goes on to indicate the way in which that grace is imparted to the believer through Eucharistic worship.

Paper covers, 4s. 6d.

Cloth covers, 7s. 6d.

THE EPWORTH PRESS
25-35, City Road, London E.C.1

...religious beliefs in any ordinary sense, and often eccentric in thought and behaviour.

But their sincerity in opposing war and war preparations cannot be questioned.

The local Magistrate, Mr. Patterson, who sent two of them to prison twice, a year ago, himself testified to that and said he knew they were genuine conscientious objectors and that a miscarriage of justice occurred when their sincerity was not recognised.

The cousins, Reginald and Lucien, each received two sentences of six weeks imprisonment for failing to pay fines and failure to observe terms of probation order. (Fines and or probation, with or without direction to civilian employment, are the only penalties provided by the Military Training Act. Imprisonment is imposed only in effect as penalty for contempt of Court in not obeying its orders.)

Another, younger, Hansen—Francis—was sent to Waikeria Borstal for three months.

BOUND BY CONSCIENCE

Last October still another, James Robert Hansen, came before the Court at Hamilton charged with failing to report for medical examination. He pleaded not guilty and said he had a conscientious objection to taking part in activities relating to war.

He had registered as a conscientious objector but did not appear before the Board in support of his application as he felt bound by his conscience to follow his present line of action irrespective of any decision that might have been given by the Board.

MAGISTRATE'S SENTENCE

The Magistrate, Mr. Stewart Hardy, SM, placed him on probation for 12 months.

It appears that the tenacity and courage of the Hansens, under most unfavourable circumstances, has at last won recognition. Like the others, James Robert Hansen refused to carry out the terms of the Probation Order. He was brought before the same Magistrate in January.

The Probation Officer, who prosecuted, said that Hansen was a member of a family at Orini which was known for its somewhat unorthodox attitudes towards certain aspects of social living. In particular the Hansens refused to acknowledge the right of the State to implement the provisions of the Military Training Act.

The Magistrate imposed a sentence of imprisonment of a kind I would like to see universal. James Robert Hansen was ordered to be imprisoned until the rising of the Court!

Fire at New York Bruderhof

THE Society of Brothers in Rifton, New York, had an \$80,000 fire on February 4. No one was injured.

The fire completely destroyed the centre building which housed offices, dispensary, kitchen, bakery, dining room, food, household supplies and tool and paint rooms. All records were lost.

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Books to come

THE usual lists of books that will be published during the next few months were recently issued by the trade. In addition to those that have previously been noted, they contain a number that will be of interest to Peace News readers; it is hoped to review most of them in due course.

Of outstanding importance for the peace movement will be the publication (on April 18, by Penguin Books) of *Is Peace Possible?* by Kathleen Lonsdale. Peace News will be reviewing this on publication day in an issue carrying special articles based on the title of the book.

BIOGRAPHY

Testament of Experience, by Vera Brittain, Summer, 18s., will be of first importance to pacifists. It is the long awaited sequel to the tremendously successful *TESTAMENT OF YOUTH*, and covers the years from the middle 'twenties to the recent past, a period during which the distinguished author has been deeply involved in the peace movement.

Bertrand Russell: The Passionate Sceptic, by Alan Wood, 25s., is a full length biography of a great philosopher who, although not now a pacifist still often stands so close that one feels he ought to be.

Taylor of Batley, by George Greenwood, March, 18s., is the story of that remarkable old Yorkshireman who died a few years ago at the age of 102. He was a pioneer of profit-sharing in industry, and organiser and chief fighter in the anti-opium campaign.

Going further back and farther away, perhaps, Frank Lea, a former editor of this paper, in *The Tragic Philosopher: Friedrich Nietzsche*, March, 30s., traces the development of his thought through its principal phases and stresses its relevance to our times, while Maurice Cranston after eight years work on papers not previously available has written *John Locke*, May, 24s., the first fully documented life of the 17th century philosopher who wrote the famous *ESSAY ON HUMAN UNDERSTANDING*.

AFRICA

Books on Africa and its racial problems continue to appear in unabated numbers.

The Rebel's Daughters, by Solly Sachs, June, 21s., has a foreword by Trevor Huddleston. It tells the story of the fight of a South African trade union under the author's leadership for better conditions and its struggle against the racial policy of the Nationalists.

Christianity and Politics in Africa, by John V. Taylor, April, 2s., will be published in the Penguin Series.

On the other hand, in *Katakala*, 20s., Michael Kittermaster creates an imagined area of Central Africa where Europeans and Africans live side by side, remote, tranquil and orderly under British administration, and Basil Fuller

Non-violence the means to integration says conference of American Negroes

The following report is abridged from the War Resisters' League News, New York, USA.

ON January 10-11, 60 Negro leaders from 29 communities in ten Southern States of the USA met at Atlanta to discuss common problems, to plan unified strategy in the bus integration struggle, to devise a policy of economic sharing and to work out a constructive programme based on non-violence.

The conference was called by the Rev. Martin Luther King, leader of the bus protest in Montgomery; Rev. F. L. Shuttlesworth, who recently started integration action in Birmingham, Alabama and Rev. C. K. Steele, leader of the bus protest in Tallahassee.

The basic discussion centred around seven working papers on strategy and a final statement. Rev. King prepared his material with the help of Bayard Rustin, whom he had persuaded to take leave as the War Resisters' League Secretary to help organise the conference and handle Press relations.

President elected

The conference marked a milestone in southern race relations in that:

1. It set up a joint committee to co-ordinate all future moves for combatting segregation in the South. No longer will leaders of such protest movements be isolated.
2. Leaders from ten States voted to share economic burdens in these struggles.
3. A women's programme was established to handle relief and to ensure the Negroes' exercise of their right to vote.
4. Non-violence was unanimously accepted as the method to be used in combatting segregation. Largely because of his principled position on this issue Luther King was elected president of the new group, to be known as the Southern Negro Leaders Conference. This places him in a key position of helping to determine policy and strategy on the community level throughout the South.

The significance of the conference to pacifism in the USA is that the formerly isolated instances of non-violent resistance will now emerge as a non-violent movement embracing 9,000,000 Americans directly and many millions emotionally.

Further a new atmosphere will be created conducive to discussion of the relevance of non-violence to other issues such as international war.

The conscience of the white South will be sensitised on the question of integration as an outcome of the spreading of non-violence. It is significant to recall that a year ago Montgomery Negroes, themselves, found it difficult to believe that a united non-violent campaign could prove successful.

Press interested

Moreover, as a result of the conference, some Negro leaders who were previously confused on the issue of non-violence, have rejected any further reliance on defensive arms. This may well lead to their acceptance of the principle of non-violence as practised in Montgomery.

The newspapers well understood the significance of the event. Twenty reporters covered the Press conference following the closed ses-

sions. Many of their questions centred around non-violence and their stories emphasised the moral nature of the struggle for civil rights.

Headlines featured the Negro leaders' call to President Eisenhower to come south and defend Negroes against violence "by speaking words of wise counsel" in a "major southern city."

The working papers on strategy which were the heart of the conference dealt with such topics as the next steps for mass action, the meaning of the bus protest, unified action, the economic power groups and their use in the struggle, how to deal with violence and maintain a non-violent discipline, the relation of State power to a non-violent campaign and the advantages and disadvantages of law in the struggle.

The final statement concluded with: "The trials of the present are not in vain. For we are convinced that if Negroes of the South steadfastly hold to justice and non-violence in their struggle for freedom, a miracle will be wrought from this period of intense social conflict and a society based on justice and equality for all will gradually emerge in the South."

NEW BULLETIN

THE latest edition of the Bulletin of the Non-violence Commission of the Peace Pledge Union has appeared, this time in printed form.

In the opening comment the editor, Hilda von Klenze, points out: "Non-violence and non-violent resistance are still the pacifist's alternative to war."

"There is no other, of that we may be sure, and we must have an alternative because, contrary to popular belief, pacifism is neither complete resignation in the face of evil, nor the miraculous panacea which will extirpate all evil."

The Bulletin, which will now be bi-monthly, aims to be exploratory in its treatment of non-violence and it also hopes to act as a forum for discussion of this most vital topic.

Communications, news cuttings, etc., should be sent to the editor of the Bulletin who emphasises: "It cannot live unless you give it the breath of life."

The annual subscription is 4s. 6d. and copies are obtainable from Hilda von Klenze, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

Kashmir: background to the dispute

by Horace Alexander

KASHMIR is perhaps the most beautiful country on earth; "the Switzerland of Asia" it has been called. It ought to be, it could be, a country where men and women from all the world would receive a welcome, and from which they would return to their work refreshed in body and mind.

Yet today, whenever the word "Kashmir" occurs in the Press, it is to remind us of a bitter feud between India and Pakistan. What

It was then, and only then, that the Maharajah acceded to India. India then flew her armies to Kashmir just in time to save the capital city, Srinagar, from the raiders.

They were driven back; but later they, and the Pakistan army supporting them, occupied much of the west and north of the State territory. The Kashmir valley and the eastern mountains and Jammu have remained under Indian control.

Horace Alexander, a British Quaker, was closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi in

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MAGAZINES · PAMPHLETS

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Yet today, whenever the word "Kashmir" occurs in the Press, it is to remind us of a bitter feud between India and Pakistan. What has gone wrong?

As with all such conflicts, the causes are complex, and some of them are old. Whatever I write here, some of my Indian or Pakistani friends will say: "But why did you omit this or that?" Inevitably, one must choose some events that seem more important than others. I can only do my best to be fair.

Inclined towards India

When India was divided in 1947, and Pakistan came into being, Kashmir was under the autocratic rule of a Hindu Maharajah, against whom the National Conference, led by Sheikh Abdullah (a Moslem) was struggling to obtain the beginnings of democracy and social justice.

From India, Jawaharlal Nehru, whose ancestors were Kashmiri Brahmins, had supported the National Conference movement. Mr. Jinnah, of the Moslem League, however, had been non-committal. The National Conference, though most of the leaders were Moslems, included Hindus and Sikhs. Mr. Jinnah did not like inter-communal parties.

Thus, when a decision had to be taken, in the autumn of 1947, for joining either India or Pakistan, both the Maharajah and the chief, popular party in Kashmir (although they were in conflict with each other) were inclined towards India. On the other hand, not only were the vast majority of the people Moslems, but the rivers of Kashmir run towards Pakistan, so that the economic life of Kashmir depended on good relations with that State.

Finally, after several months of vacillation, the Maharajah acceded to India: "under pressure," say Pakistanis. Yes, indeed, but some of the worst pressures were put on him from Pakistan, not from India.

Holy war declared

During these months terrible things had happened. There were massacres of Moslems by the Maharajah's troops in both Poonah and Jammu—the extreme west and south of the country: but not in the Kashmir valley itself.

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Horace Alexander, a British Quaker, was closely associated with Mahatma Gandhi in the campaign to win freedom for India. Despite the bitterness of the struggle he enjoyed the complete confidence of most of India's political leaders. He writes from an intimate knowledge of Indian affairs, which he has followed closely since independence and on which he has contributed to the Manchester Guardian and other newspapers.

India, in accepting the Maharajah's accession, said that it ought to be ratified by a popular vote "when order is restored." By this they meant when all hostile forces had been driven from the State—which they hoped would be within a few months.

Later, India appealed to the United Nations to help them in restoring peace to Kashmir; but Pakistan brought counter-charges against India, and an endless argument has gone on ever since.

Fighting stopped after two years; but the Pakistan army did not withdraw, and India has claimed that the withdrawal of her troops and the planning of a plebiscite must follow the withdrawal of the Pakistani troops, as their presence in the State, according to India, constitutes "aggression." Hence many years of stalemate.

Free elections

At first, when the United Nations Commissioners proposed solutions, India accepted their proposals, and Pakistan refused. In later years, it is India that has rejected various fresh formulae for the withdrawal of armed forces.

What do the people of the Kashmir valley really want? Most observers I have met, including Indian visitors, think that in a free vote Pakistan would have a majority. If, however, the third alternative of autonomy, guaranteed by all their neighbours, were offered to them, it is likely, I believe, that they would prefer that.

Whenever this has been proposed, it has been dismissed as impracticable. On

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Universal Language

ALFRED G. TUCKER reviews

Teach Yourself Esperanto, by Cresswell and Hartley, English Universities Press Ltd., 7s. 6d.

REAL hope for the non-linguist is to be found in this book, the linguist can look after himself! After long experience I am convinced that Esperanto is the only language one *can* teach oneself, and this book is the best instrument I have yet found for the job.

Its attractive appearance, good binding and helpfully simple pictures will make it acceptable on the shelves, in the hand and in the study.

By following closely the advice in the Introductory Lesson you will surely prove the authors' claim that after the first five Lessons you will be able to start *using* the language and use it with increasing ease and pleasure. If the few grammatical terms used bother you, don't worry; all you need to do is to understand the simple explanations.

It is very important to read and apply the "Interpolation" (p. 51) especially in respect of seeking a correspondent in some other land. You can choose almost any country in the world, and will soon gain both interest and knowledge of it.

But continue to go right through the book

itself, for the practical every-day nature of the vocabulary, the reproduction of items from all pages of the daily paper—For Women, About Holidays, Correspondence, Crosswords, etc.—will also help you in your spoken and written contacts.

I strongly recommend the book.

Esperanto is not a panacea guaranteed to produce world peace, but it *is* a grand means for the man in the street to learn to know his opposite number in other countries. By starting now you will be able to fit yourself for the Universal Congress of Esperanto at Marseilles next August. Good hunting!

When India was divided in 1947, and Pakistan came into being, Kashmir was under the autocratic rule of a Hindu Maharajah, against whom the National Conference, led by Sheikh Abdullah (a Moslem) was struggling to obtain the beginnings of democracy and social justice.

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During these months terrible things had happened. There were massacres of Moslems by the Maharajah's troops in both Poonah and Jammu—the extreme west and south of the country; but not in the Kashmir valley itself, which is the heart of the country and the real bone of contention.

Pathans from the north-west frontier, excited by the stories they heard of their fellow-Moslems being murdered, declared a holy war against the ruler of Kashmir, and, with active assistance from many elements in Pakistan, invaded the Kashmir valley, spreading fire and slaughter, killing and plundering Moslems, Hindus, Sikhs and Christians alike.

At the same time, the Security Council has invited its Swedish member, Mr. Jarring, to visit India and Pakistan and try to find some common ground for moving towards an acceptable solution. He has a most difficult task. He needs the support of every man of good will.

A few years ago, the present Prime Minister of (Indian) Kashmir, G. M. Bakshi, said to me: "Any agreement between India and Pakistan will be good for Kashmir; any failure to agree is bad for Kashmir." That looks like a truism; perhaps it is. But it is the kind of truism that needs to be remembered.

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Whenever this has been proposed, it has been dismissed as "unpractical." Of course, it is unpractical unless both India and Pakistan will sincerely accept it and implement it. So long as each mistrusts the other completely, it is unpractical, but so is every other proposed solution.

During March, the citizens of the Kashmir valley will all go to the polls. How will they vote? If the elections are free, their voting may indicate their real desires. There will be no "pro-Pakistan" party; but in free elections the pro-Pakistan element can find ways of expressing itself.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

Strife in Ireland

GEOFFREY CARNALL'S article (Cause of Strife in Ireland, February 22) is exceptionally accurate and penetrating. I would, however, claim this to be a situation of more than local importance. Many of its ingredients are common to other trouble spots in the world, to say nothing of the East-West tensions.

Fear and suspicion instinctively run so deep that even where no consciously hostile motive is suspected, there is a tendency for one individual to regard the other as the unintentional dupe of the faction with which he is identified. To try to tackle the problem on the intellectual level is either to be met with the closed mind altogether, or else superficial assent, but one knows one has completely failed to penetrate the depths of the mind, where the true mischief lies.

On the other hand, efforts to bring members of the two sides together, either on the religious or political plane, inevitably leads to negative results, simply because a considerable amount of intermingling already goes on in everyday life—in a perfectly friendly atmosphere—but here again the real depths of the problem are never penetrated. It is seldom in reality a quarrel between individuals, but a group antipathy which manifests itself partly in the form of inbred fear and suspicion, and partly as an impulse and feeling of obligation to remain loyal to one's own kind.

It is these factors that are exploited by politicians, on both sides; though it is only fair to say that I don't think a breed of politicians exists anywhere capable of resisting the temptation to use such a ready-made situation to their own advantage.—**J. MALCOLM NICHOLSON, 21 Tudor Drive, Cregagh, Belfast.**

Helper for F.S.U.

RECENTLY you were good enough to draw attention to the arrangements Family Service Units will again be making this Summer for children from families with special difficulties to have holidays—particularly holidays with private hosts.

Last year the FSU in Birmingham arranged for no less than 104 children to receive hospi-

talities. This entailed so much extra work—not only transport arrangements but seeing the children were adequately clothed, that their heads were free from vermin, and that they were medically fit—that it will be impossible for the Unit to undertake a programme on a similar scale this year without extra help. We need a concerned and energetic person who will give full-time assistance with the arrangements (under the general direction of a Unit worker) from about the middle of July to the end of August. No salary can be offered but free board as well as other expenses can be met if necessary.—**PHILIP SEED, c/o Birmingham Family Service Unit, 398 New John St. West, Birmingham, 19.**

Courageous walk

FEW, reading Michael Randle's account of his brave, lonely walk to the Hungarian frontier, will disagree with his modest remark "I do think the project was well worth while."

Two points stand out.

1. He distributed pacifist leaflets, and carried on his poster a pacifist message, which brought at least a ray of light to country folk, who had, most probably never seen such ideas in print, though their warm reception showed that they had felt them in their hearts. It is doubtful whether they will ever forget him or his message.

2. Recently a chance acquaintance said: "One can only spread pacifism if one has money. If one had a £1,000,000 to spend on it one could do some good." It is doubtful whether the spending of any amount of money would make such a lasting impression as the sight of a tired, footsore man, plodding alone through the snow in a foreign country, knowing all the while that his message might endanger his own personal safety.

War demands courage, unlimited money and complete subservience to the man in command.

Pacifism, whose service is perfect freedom, asks for nothing more than courage and faith.

"Sufficient is His arm alone, and our defence is sure."—**WINIFRED GREENFIELD, 16a Hillside Gdns., London, N.6.**

Pacifist community

WE are deeply grateful for the space you have given us in Peace News and have received quite a number of responses from people who said that they first read about the attacks on our inter-racial farm in your paper.

It really means a lot to us in times like these to know that we are thought of by friends throughout the world.—**CLARENCE JORDAN, Koinonia Community, Route 2, Americus, Georgia, USA.**

U.N. and the Blocs

AFTER arguing conclusively for a change in the UN Charter PN's leader (UN and the Blocs) announced that he was resigning.

While the world is bleeding to death, the politicians are running around with a finger plaster. And the pacifists? They wail and weep—with a holier-than-thou policy as sincere, but as ineffective, as the lady from Devon who refuses to pay her dog license fee in order to stop the H-bomb tests.

Peace will come only when the nations come to agreement—but that will never happen until the machinery for agreement is first set up. Good intentions alone are not enough.—**MARTIN JACKSON, Birmingham.**

Parties to defence

JOHNN LOVERSEED'S letter (PN, March 1) is in no way an answer to the pertinent questions of Terence Chivers regarding power and its use by pacifists. To dismiss these questions as "merely academic" is to ignore the wealth of historical and psychiatric material demonstrating the connection between power and aggressiveness.

We cannot achieve any useful understanding of peace (peace as creative harmony—not suppressed conflict) by seeking to "mobilise" people against the symptom war. The causes of war are rooted in the pattern of domination and submission which has been characteristic of all civilisations up to, and including, the present one. To build a way of life from which war has been eliminated involves the renunciation on the part of each individual concerned of all dominative and/or submissive attitudes. And this is a question of firstly personal change ("change of heart") and then a commitment which will give existential expression to this new way in relation to one's fellows. It is therefore not a political way, which means the external manipulation of persons by coercion.

One of the inconsistencies contained in Mr. Loverseed's approach is that he demands the renunciation of force yet advocates that this be done by "morality and sanity" being "imposed by the will of the people." Perhaps he would explain how it is possible to impose something without using force. And can he categorically state that a government of the Fellowship Party—or one of which they approve—will not use force as a sanction for its laws?

I hope that Mr. Loverseed, and his supporters, will consider these points seriously. To be so "purely academic" may be exhibiting "the folly of Nero," but even if Rome is burning we must be sure that we do not seek to put out the flames by using petroleum.

A final point. Members of the Fellowship Party have laid great stress on the impossibility of reforming the Labour Party from within. Mr. Loverseed's concluding paragraph seems to imply that the purpose of the Fellowship Party is to get the Labour Party to renounce war. Surely this aim is simply an attempt to reform the Labour Party from without? If "a party renouncing war captures the public support it

FROM PAGE THREE

RELIGIOUS NEWS AND VIEWS NUCLEAR WEAPONS

Dealing with the use and abuse of nuclear weapons, the diplomatic correspondent of the Church of England Newspaper calls for more thinking on the subject. He concludes his analysis of the situation by saying that from a Christian point of view:

"it will be quite wrong for anyone to be carried away by the horror of Hiroshima into thinking that no nuclear weapons should ever be used. There is no moral difference between killing a hundred men by one conventional bomb and killing them by a nuclear bomb. In essence the moral problem is not changed. It is whether the use of force and the destruction of men's lives is ever justified."

"In all considerations the important moral principle is that the degree of force exercised must always be strictly proportional to the end which is to be attained, and this end must itself be morally justified."

If that criterion is honestly applied, the result must surely be a renunciation not only of all nuclear weapons but of the whole method of war itself.

SKY PILOT

Colonel Dean Hesse, an ordained minister of religion, became a bomber pilot in the US Air Force and the hero and star of the film "Battle Hymn" because he followed the advice he gave to his congregation: "War is the lesser of two evils; obey the draft."

Interviewed on behalf of the British Weekly, he explained that he was devoting all the money from the rights of his book and the film to maintaining the orphanage which houses the children he helped to evacuate from Korea. But he claimed that it was not generosity which prompted him.

"I couldn't sleep at night if I didn't give it. How could anyone make profit for themselves out of happenings which have brought tragedy to these children. Maybe I'm selfish—just because it gives me a reward and my conscience doesn't kick around inside me."

Perhaps his conscience is troubling him more than he cares to admit, for he added: "I am probably the greatest pacifist the world has known, but I want peace so badly I'll fight for it." But has he got it any more than the rest of the world?

Sir Richard Acland will appear in the BBC's TV Brains Trust for the first time on March 10.

Now a schoolmaster in South London, Sir Richard resigned his seat as Labour MP for Gravesend in 1955 on the issue of the H-bomb.

Against, not for

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PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Sufi Service

3.30 p.m. Sunday, March 10, 1957

Friends' International Centre

32 Tavistock Square, W.C.1

(Nearest Stn-Euston Square)

Discourse by Miss L. Hayat Bouman

"The Mystical Meaning of Fairy Tales."

Friends and others, deploring connection between medical orthodoxy and animal martyrdom, desiring choice of enlightened National Health treatment, please join

form of inbred fear and suspicion, and partly as an impulse and feeling of obligation to remain loyal to one's own kind.

It is these factors that are exploited by politicians, on both sides; though it is only fair to say that I don't think a breed of politicians exists anywhere capable of resisting the temptation to use such a ready-made situation to their own advantage.—**J. MALCOLM NICHOLSON, 21 Tudor Drive, Cregagh, Belfast.**

Helper for F.S.U.

RECENTLY you were good enough to draw attention to the arrangements Family Service Units will again be making this Summer for children from families with special difficulties to have holidays—particularly holidays with private hosts.

Last year the FSU in Birmingham arranged for no less than 104 children to receive hospi-

ties. I am sure that you will ever forget the message.

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AFTER arguing conclusively for a change in the UN Charter PN's leader (UN and the Blocs) pronounces Charter Reform as "futile." "Get rid of the power blocs"—you cry. But how?

Certainly not by maintaining the pre-atomic structure of the present UN which is designed to continue unchecked national sovereignty and self-interest.

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Against, not for

A PRINTER'S error has changed the meaning of the penultimate sentence in my letter of February 22. It should read: "The Co-operative Party instructed its MPs to vote against German rearmament, but in the House they disobeyed their members and voted for German rearmament."—**JOAN WHITTINGTON, Blairbeth House, 8 St. George's Drive, London, S.W.1.**

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Health Freedom Anti-Vivisection Society

Subs. from 2s. 6d. annually to Hon. Treasurer, Marjorie Langlois, 26 Mill St. Guernsey, or to Hon. Sec. Founder, Nina Worley, "Peacecare," Guernsey. Free booking Spring and Autumn Lectures. Subjects "Vivisection versus Health," etc. All societies addressed. No charges.)

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Wednesday, March 13

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KIDBROOKE: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Play, "A Hundred Years Old." Fellowship Party.

Thursday, March 14

GOODMAYES: 8 p.m.; Congregational Church Hall, Green Lane. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

LONDON, N.4: 8.30 p.m.; 129 Seven Sisters Rd., Arlo Tatum, "The Individual and War." Questions and discussion. Adm. free. Islington branch S.P.G.B.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Shephard House, 6 Endsleigh St., Arnold Mason, "The Society of Brothers." PYAG.

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HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANonbury 1340, Telke Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

GERMAN retired teacher and wife wishing to improve knowledge of English and get first-hand knowledge of English life, thought, require accommodation for 6 months England, Scotland. Propose paying for lodging by giving German lessons. Suggestions to Karl Struve, Wentorf C/Hamburg, Zollnerkoppel, Germany.

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BATCHELOR, 42. Sense humour. Interested country, philosophy, socialism, music. Wishes contact lady similar interests. Box 724.

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DERBYSHIRE HILLS: "The Briars" for happy country holidays in friendly atmosphere. Brochure from Mr. and Mrs. Heymans, Crich, n/r Matlock.

FRINTON-ON-SEA. Gem of East Coast. Peaceful and happy atmosphere. Bathing from charming house, overlooking famous greensward. Vegetarian, food reform, Lilian and Aldo Vezza, Sandy Point, Esplanade, Tel. 691.

NORFOLK COAST. Quiet village, Broad district; excellent beach. Vegetarian and conventional catering. H. & C. all bedrooms. Woodbine Guest House, Sea Palling. Tel. Hickling 236.

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NORTH WALES. Vegetarian guest house, nr. mountains and sea. Lovely woodland garden. Brochure from Jeannie and George Lake, Plas-y-Coed, Penmaen Park, Llanfairfechan. Tel.: 161.

ST. LEONARDS-ON-SEA. Close to sea and shops. Good vegetarian food only, but still at reasonable terms. Particulars: Frances E. Morgan, 78a Norman Rd., St. Leonards-on-Sea.

SWANAGE: Vegetarian Guest House, overlooking sea. Children welcomed. Own garden and farm produce; home-made bread, cakes, etc. Waveney Park Rd. Phone 2804.

VISIT THE LAKES for your holiday this year. Whether for a strenuous walking and

Langlois, 26 Mill St. Guernsey, or to Hon. Sec. Founder, Nina Worley, "Peacecare," Guernsey. (Now booking Spring and Autumn Lectures. Subjects "Vivisection versus Health," etc. All societies addressed. No charges.)

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Tuesday, March 12

BELFAST: 8 p.m.; Friends' Inst. Frederick St. Study Gp. Fellowship of Reconciliation.

LONDON, S.W.14: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd., East Sheen. AGM. Guest Chairman, Douglas Clarke. Peace Pledge Union.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; 23 Church St., off King St., Salford. Manchester Central Gp. Mtg. Peace Pledge Union.

Every week!

SATURDAYS AND SUNDAYS

LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 19 Pembridge Villas, W.11.

SUNDAYS

HYDE PARK: 4 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Sunday. PYAG.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.15 p.m.; Shipley Group in new premises in Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. PYAG.

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LONDON, N.10: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Church Cresc., Muswell Hill Rd. Harold Campbell (Asst. Sec. British Co-operative Party); Joseph Murumbi (Sec. Movement for Colonial Freedom); Denis Lovelace (Chairman, North London Federal Union), "Why War on want?" Organised by North London Action Council for War on Want. Admission free. Collection.

Saturday, March 16

LANCASTER: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. John Burnet, National Council representative. Tea provided. Lakeland Area Mtg. PPU.

Sunday, March 17

WANSTEAD: 8.15 p.m.; Cambridge Park Methodist Church Hall, Cambridge Park. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." FoR.

Monday, March 18

LOUGHTON: 7.45 p.m.; Wesley Hall, High Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." FoR.

Tuesday, March 19

WOODFORD GREEN: 8.30 p.m.; Ray Lodge Cong. Ch. Hall, Snakes Lane. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." FoR.

Wednesday, March 20

BLACKHEATH: 8.30 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Play, "Bidden to the Feast." Fellowship Party.

WALTHAMSTOW: 8.15 p.m.; Wood Street Cong. Ch., Vallentin Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Thursday, March 21

CHINGFORD: 8 p.m.; North Chingford Meth. Ch., Station Rd. Film, "Children of Hiroshima." Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Tuesday, March 26

LONDON, N.W.1: 7 p.m.; Friends Ho., Euston Rd. "The Failure of Violence—the Challenge of Pacifism." Leslie Hale, MP, Marjorie Lewis, Kathleen Lonsdale, DBE, DSc, FRs, Martin Niemöller, DD. Chair. Donald Soper, MA, PhD. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

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GERMAN retired teacher and wife wishing to improve knowledge of English and get firsthand knowledge of English life, thought, require accommodation for 6 months England, Scotland. Propose paying for lodging by giving German lessons. Suggestions to Karl Struve, Wentorf C/Hamburg, Zollnerkoppel, Germany.

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LEARN VEGETARIAN cookery in lovely Lakeland at Rothay Bank, Grasmere. Apr. 8-15.

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit), 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

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QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London.

PERSONAL

ALL interested in the causes of war should read "The Socialist Party and War," 1s. 2d. post free from the Socialist Party of Great Britain, 52 Clapham High St., London, S.W.4.

BACHELOR, 42. Sense humour. Interested country, philosophy, socialism, music. Wishes contact lady similar interests. Box 724.

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Ghana's guests Kwame Nkrumah

● FROM PAGE ONE

Official delegates were quartered in the new Ambassador Hotel and the Press was adequately taken care of in one of the new residence halls of University College. The current topic of conversation is the guest list for the celebrations.

It was revealed that Egypt was not invited because she broke relations with Britain over the invasion of Suez. However, Egypt and the Gold Coast were fellow members of the Bandung Conference and there are still rumours that Nasser is coming anyway.

Israel was invited and is represented. Russia and China are here. Chiang Kai-shek was not asked to come, merely because Britain does not recognise Formosa. The presence of Chinese delegates has reportedly "upset" American Vice-President Nixon.

Of poignant interest is the list of people to whom have gone special invitations from Prime Minister Kwame Nkrumah and his Government.

SPECIAL INVITATIONS

These people represent no governments, but are in the real sense the creators of Ghana by their long-time encouragement of its leaders. They believed, when it was fashionable to be an unbeliever, in the independence of the Gold Coast.

These guests include George Padmore, the expatriate West Indian, anti-colonialist; W. E. B. DuBois, the octogenarian American Negro historian who chaired the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester with Nkrumah as a secretary, Michael Scott; Fenner Brockway; Mrs. J. E. K. Aggrey, the widow of the first African staff member at Achimota College; and Mrs. Marcus Garvey, the widow of the American Back-to-Africa movement of several decades ago.

"Not by guns"

*Ghana, arise! An independent nation.
Born from the virtues of your finest sons;
Now in the world you take your proper station
Won by your brotherhood, not by your guns.*

THESE are the first four lines of "Ghana, Arise!", the country's "national anthem" written by Mr. Hector Hughes, Labour MP for North Aberdeen.

The anthem, Mr. Hughes told the Daily Telegraph, brings out that "Ghana is the first black colony in the Commonwealth to achieve independence, and has set an example to the world in doing it without violence."

It is written to the tune of Edward Carpenter's "England arise!"

At this stage of the independence celebra-

Working one's way through college is a well-established custom in America, and Nkrumah did all kinds of manual labour to finance his studies. It is this practice which, undoubtedly, leaves American-educated Africans with more of the common touch than most of the Oxford-Cambridge black élite.

At the end of ten years of strenuous life in America, he interrupted his homeward journey by a stay of two and a half years in England, during which he became seriously involved in nationalist politics.

By the time he reached the Gold Coast at the end of 1947 to become the secretary of the United Gold Coast Convention, Nkrumah was well versed in the techniques of political organisations and was armed with a clear political objective; the complete independence of Ghana as the first stage towards a United West African Federation.

His relationship with the United Gold Coast Convention was not a happy one, and he gives an honest account of his disagreements with the leaders of the UGCC, the circumstances which led to his parting company with them and the formation of his own Convention People's Party in June, 1949.

PRISON

Surviving a number of prosecutions brought against the CPP newspaper editors and leaders, Nkrumah and several others were imprisoned. It was while he was in jail under conditions that would have shamed even a totalitarian regime, that the first general election under the "bogus and fraudulent" Coussey Constitution took place.

Nkrumah tells for the first time how he directed the CPP election campaign from his prison cell, using toilet paper as his medium of communication with his colleagues outside the jail. Enough is told without revealing the operations of the "underground railway"; but it is obvious that even those Africans who nominally were on the side of the imperialists were in spirit with him.

Without these "operators," Nkrumah's links with the masses, to whom he pays generous tribute throughout the book, could not have been maintained and the party would have been isolated from its leader and finally crushed by the forces of imperialism and their agents.

Emerging victorious out of the first electoral campaign, the very authorities who had imprisoned Nkrumah were obliged to release him in order to form the Government. The way was now clear for the final transfer of power.

At this time Nkrumah's political opponents created a new opposition under the banner of the National Liberation Movement. The centre of this opposition was based on Kumasi.

MISGUIDED MISSILES

Senior clergy in South Uist . . . this week-end sent a joint letter to Mr. Maclay, Secretary for Scotland, demanding a public enquiry into the guided missile training range planned for the islands of South and North Uist and Benbecula.

—Daily Telegraph, March 4, 1957.

IN the last issue of Peace News there was an article explaining to readers why the Welsh people are objecting to the little hamlet of Capel Celyn being submerged for the benefit of the inhabitants of Liverpool.

The plans for the new reservoir were referred to as the "exploitation of a small community by a rich and powerful city." I do not propose to argue this, though it is my view that there are some things done for the benefit of the community as a whole which inevitably demand sacrifices from a few; and, moreover, if what is done is thoroughly understood to be for the ultimate good, most people willingly adjust themselves.

Near Birmingham, and across the Pennine hills, villages have been submerged to bring water to the countryside; in Scotland lovely rivers have been dammed, and now are derelict and dry, so that electricity could be brought to hundreds of isolated villages, as well as towns.

I well remember the day I first saw the new road through the grim and thrilling Pass of Glencoe. It was no longer only the intrepid walkers and climbers who could, in breathless solitude, look upon the glory of those great peaks shouldering each other to the sky, and live in imagination those far off days when clans sheltered, and fought, in those rocky fastnesses.

Now, coaches, cars, caravans, litter and broken bottles wrecked the lovely scene. I was filled with resentment that I should never again be there alone, until I realised that I ought to be glad that millions, instead of only hundreds, could now lift up their eyes to the hills, could share in that beauty, and revel in that peace.

The Welsh people may be right to try to keep their little hamlet against the onset of so-called civilisation, but it is an entirely different matter to what is about to happen in the Outer Hebrides.

Here the tenants of 150 crofts in three of the islands are to be dispossessed in order to make room for about 9,000 workers and administrative personnel, whose sole objective is the building of a guided missile training range.

Here is no call for sacrifice in a good cause; the end for which these people are to lose

their land and their livelihood is the violent end of war.

This is a purpose from which no good can possibly result. If the range, on which millions of pounds is to be spent, and thousands of people employed, is ever used, it will be because there is a war between the Great Powers.

If the missiles should ever be launched with warheads, it will not mean a few drowned valleys, or some hundreds of crofters evacuated; it will mean hundreds of thousands of ordinary human beings dead and dying amid the ruin of their country and their homes.

It is this that should make governments pause in their schemes for training people to produce and use these monstrous weapons; it is this that should impel people to protest against what it being done in their name. To make sacrifices for the good of all is one thing; to make sacrifices for the purpose of wholesale slaughter, quite another.

It is a tragic fact that the letter of protest from clergy of the Christian church on these islands is concerned mainly with a promise made to the local people that an enquiry should be held, at which they would have an opportunity to voice their objections to the scheme; this, of course, is a reasonable demand, though it is, unfortunately, coupled with an admission of "the necessity of the project in the national interest." There is no word of any moral objection or repugnance.

The crofters can rightly protest on the grounds of hardship and sentimental association, but how much stronger would their case have been if the ministers of their church had led them, in the name of their Master, to refuse the use of their land for this vile purpose; a purpose so plainly contrary to all He taught.

Perhaps it is still not too late!

Malayan World * FROM PAGE TWO

actions," have been so unwisely anxious to get rid with precipitate haste of Dutchmen able to give adequate training to Indonesian successors.

Lying in the past, these things cannot be undone today. But it is their effects which account for the present troubles in Sumatra and elsewhere, for the Jakarta Government's anxiety to divert popular attention away from its own shortcomings by the constant repetition of the silly claim that independence is not complete

Mrs. J. E. K. Aggrey, the widow of the African staff member at Achimota College; and Mrs. Marcus Garvey, the widow of the American Back-to-Africa movement of several decades ago.

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At this stage of the independence celebrations, nobody knows how many of these special guests will actually come to Accra.

One of the most interesting groups of special guests of the Government consists of those who are still engaged in the battle against colonialism and racism in Africa and around the world. The delegation of American Negroes is headed by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., of Montgomery, Alabama. Others include two Negro Congressmen (Diggs of Michigan and Powell of New York); two Negro women journalists (Cartwright of New York and Payne of Chicago); two Negro college presidents, Horace Mann Bond, of Lincoln University (Nkrumah's alma mater) and Mordecai Johnson, of Howard University; and labour leader A. Phillip Randolph.

A number of West Indians from British colonies in the Caribbean are here, besides Jagan. Most of the African colonies are sending official white delegates, such as Prime Minister Todd of Southern Rhodesia. Of significance for the future of Africa is the small group of Africans who have managed to come here from the colonies.

There is Peter Koinange, the expatriate from Kenya now living in London; Julius Nyerere from Tanganyika, and Harry Nkumbula from the Central African Federation.

Some have already been prevented from leaving their countries for this purpose, but others have arrived. (It is said that the French are particularly apprehensive of these Gold Coast celebrations; there are almost no French reporters here and it is said that the borders of the French colonies in West Africa especially are being carefully watched to prevent leaders from coming.)

SOUTH AFRICA

Those African leaders who do come to Accra will return with an important souvenir of Ghana's independence: a determination to get their freedom the Ghana way, quickly and non-violently.

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At this time Nkrumah's political opponents created a new opposition under the banner of the National Liberation Movement. The centre of this opposition was based on Kumasi, and had the support of the Asantehene and the Asanteman Council. With their allies, especially the Northern People's Party, the NLM became associated with a campaign of violence on the one hand and intransigent tactics on the other.

INDEPENDENCE

How Nkrumah met and overcame these various crises is told with commendable objectivity and detachment in a chapter entitled "The Final Test."

The book closes with a chapter appropriately headed, "The Hour of Triumph," in which the Prime Minister gives a very human close-up of himself, describing his emotions when the Governor handed him the official despatch from the Secretary of State fixing March 6, 1957, as the date of independence.

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Start the race for disarmament

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During his speech he pointed out the dangers of Britain's becoming a base from which nuclear weapons were to be delivered.

"Before the Government agree to Britain's becoming a rocket launching platform," he said, "I hope they will consult the people and tell them the truth, that if we undertake that role we invite mass suicide.

"When the very existence of mankind is threatened by these weapons the species will, in sheer self defence, throw up a resistance to being involved in this kind of warfare and will support whatever leadership shows a way of avoiding the disaster," he continued.

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President Sukarno's new National Council, to be invested with authority "to advise the Cabinet whether or not the Cabinet asked for it" reminds one involuntarily of the *Comité du Salut* of the French Revolution. Bodies of this kind serve little purpose except that of reducing the scope and free play of the institutions of our kind of democracy. As President of the Republic, Dr. Sukarno already enjoys considerable power, further heightened by his personal popularity. Now, after a number of contradictory reports, the latest one is to the effect that he is also to be the chairman of the new National Council, in which "all walks of life of the Indonesian people" are to find expression—a matter which will depend greatly on the Council's interpretation. Meanwhile it is probable, though not yet quite certain, that Communists are to be included in the Council.

This coincides with a declaration by the President to a meeting of 900 military and political leaders and government officials that "the western idea of parliamentary discussion and opposition is unsuitable for Indonesia since it runs counter to the spirit of the Indonesian people." Here then is the second factor in the situation and one which we shall do well to bear in mind. For there is something arrogant in our unenquiring assumption that our form of democracy is the perfection of human political endeavour, the only possible ideal for all mankind, suitable to all conditions.

Only the unimaginative are firm in the belief that what we want, admire and hold dear above everything else must also be held in the same esteem by others. All feelings, aspirations and opinions of this kind are conditioned by people's past and traditions. And if Indonesia and certain other countries whose independence is of recent date show little sign of venerating individual freedom, let us remember two

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Nixon will bring copies of a souvenir calendar with pictures of Eisenhower and Nkrumah. There are rumours here, however, that the Russians will present an aeroplane to Nkrumah and some Zis motorcars.

The Cold War began here a good 48 hours before the Gold Coast becomes Ghana!

South Africa was invited and, to everybody's surprise accepted. Mr. Robert Jones, head of the newly organised Africa Division of the Department of External Affairs, is already in the Gold Coast, and with the temporary title of High Commissioner Extraordinary. Four South African journalists came with him to witness this extraordinary burial of colonial apartheid in British West Africa.

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NATIONALISM

The book ends with a call to the new phase of the struggle, for there can be no standing still in the long march which will extend freedom's frontiers from Ghana to the ends of the Continent. "African nationalism was not confined to the Gold Coast—the new Ghana," Nkrumah points out as he comes to the end of his narrative.

He tells his people that "from now on it must be Pan-African nationalism, and the ideology of African political consciousness and African political emancipation must spread throughout the whole continent, into every nook and corner of it.

"I have never regarded the struggle for the independence of the Gold Coast as an isolated objective but always as a part of a general world historical pattern... Our task is not done and our own safety is not assured until the last vestiges of colonialism have been swept from Africa."

(Copyright)

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In proposing the cut in arms expenditure, Mr. Allaun suggested that it was time we broke the vicious circle created by the arms race and began instead the disarmament race. He believed that Britain could no longer be a great power militarily. Rather he would like to see "our country great in the sense of setting an example to the world and helping to produce peace, which is the only defence in the Twentieth Century."

Considering the two main objections to his proposal Mr. Allaun continued: "One, I understand, is that the Russians would occupy our country. The Russians have quite a job occupying Hungary. I don't think that they would like to take on the additional job of repressing 50 million Britons. The second objection is that if we cut our arms expenditure we could not carry out our commitments. If that is the case we must cut our commitments."

He suggested that the money saved by the reduction should be used to raise the old age pension, raise the school leaving age, re-equip our industries (allowing more money for research) and help the "underdogs of the world who are living in disgraceful conditions."

"We could do all these things if we had the moral courage to cut our arms programme by one-third," he concluded. "All we need is the will to do it."

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HOLIDAYS 1957

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